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A "GRAND OLD CHURCH" ROSE IN THE EAST: THE CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST (COGIC) IN EAST TEXAS

by Karen Kossie-Chernyshev

Black Holiness-Pentecostalism in general and the Church of God in Christ (COGIC) in particular have been studied in a variety of ways, but few studies have placed either subject within the geographical environs of East Texas, a primary nurturing place for the movement and the COGIC mission.

Zora Neale Hurston, in her groundbreaking anthropological study *The Sanctified Church* (1935), characterized the African American Pentecostal Church as a "protest against highbrow tendency in Negro Protestant congregations as Negroes gain [ed] education and wealth" and "a revitalizing element in Negro music and religion."¹ Subsequent scholarly studies investigated the myriad themes introduced in Hurston's work. Historical scholarship of the 1970s debated the origins of the Black Pentecostal movement and canvassed its flourishing on domestic and international fronts.² Sociological studies of the period generally described the movement as transitory or pathological.³ Studies in the 1980s and 1990s offered analyses valorizing the African-derived concepts of power,⁴ community,⁵ creativity,⁶ and spirituality⁷ inherent in the Black Pentecostal cosmos. Given the predominant focus on broader historical and interpretative aims, few studies have centered on Black Pentecostalism in Texas. Ada Moorhead Holland and Reverend C.C. White's *No Quittin' Sense* (1969),⁸ an in-depth biographical study of White's life and ministry, and Alwyn Barr's *Black Texans: A History of Negroes in Texas: 1528-1971* (1973),⁹ initiated a regional examination of the movement that I hope to continue in this constructionist essay.

In-house publications of the Church of God in Christ and selected accounts of Black Pentecostal witnesses affirm that East Texas was fertile soil for the COGIC, which now boasts approximately six million members in the United States, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa. The region provided a place to establish and nurture the organization in the southwest, and fostered young men and women who committed their lives to re-exploring, re-defining, and re-interpreting the Christian mission according to the COGIC belief system.

By 1906 African Americans formed majorities in fourteen counties along the Texas coast, in the Brazos River valley, and in Northeast Texas, and constituted forty to fifty percent of the population in thirteen other East Texas counties.¹⁰ With black political involvement and influence truncated by legalized segregation and discrimination, black churches stood to gain much from the creative energies of African Americans of the post-emancipation period; the Church of God in Christ was no exception.

Early pioneers who nurtured the COGIC in East Texas were Bishop E.M.

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Page (Dallas), Mother Hannah Chandler (Dallas), Mother Mattie McGlothen (Tehuacana), Mother Emma Crouch (Morris County), and Evangelist Nancy Gamble (Thorton, Arkansas). A historical overview of their contributions to the COGIC organization suggests that early members created a vibrant framework for social and spiritual fulfillment despite their marginalized experience within Southern culture because they were black and within African American religious culture because they were Pentecostal.¹¹

While variations existed, the basic theology COGIC members embraced was distinguished by its appreciation for *glossalalia* (speaking in tongues), for the spiritual gifts – particularly healing – and for the African-derived liturgy of plantation praise houses.¹² At a social level, nineteenth-century perfectionist Christianity, the will to power (black post-Civil War proto-liberationism), the ecumenical nature of the early Pentecostal movement (though short-lived), and urbanization all fostered its rapid growth within the African American community.

Outnumbered by black Baptists, who numbered 388,044 by 1936 and constituted the single largest denomination in Texas, black or white, black Holiness-Pentecostals increased from 1,500 members in 1906 to 18,000 in 1926. By 1930, Holiness-Pentecostal churches claimed thirty-one of 160 congregations in Houston, making them second only to black Baptists. By comparison, black Catholics, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Disciples of Christ, and members of the Churches of Christ, all connected to white denominations, numbered fewer than 10,000.¹³

The COGIC Pentecostal mission was shared by a variety of religious organizations aptly described as “Holiness-Pentecostal,” including the Church of the Living God, the Christian Workers for Fellowship, the Pillar and the Ground of Truth, the Apostolic Church, and the General Assembly.¹⁴ Like most churches, the COGIC furnished a proto-liberationist foundation for withstanding sociopolitical oppression by supporting education, providing forums for discussion, and organizing structures for the development of black leaders.

Bishop E.M. Page planted the COGIC in Dallas in 1910,¹⁵ the same year the COGIC organization celebrated its official birth date, in response to founding Bishop Charles Harrison Mason’s mandate. Despite a restrictive social climate of segregation and economic discrimination,¹⁶ Bishop Page attempted to stabilize the COGIC in Texas by emphasizing the importance of education and the printed word. His administration established both a school and *The Texas Bulletin*, a monthly jurisdictional magazine printed in San Antonio and distributed throughout the state. Conceived in 1913, the Page Normal Industrial and Bible Institute, also called the “Page Industrial and Literary School,”¹⁷ was constructed on Henry Prairie Road about four miles northeast of Hearne, Texas,¹⁸ and mirrored the organization’s dual appreciation for spiritual excellence and secular achievement. The institute received a significant stamp of approval when Bishop Charles Harrison Mason, founder of the COGIC, sent his son, Bob, to study there.¹⁹ Although fire devastated the complex in 1932,²⁰ the “jurisdictional system” implemented in part to raise funds for the institute, is still the bedrock of COGIC administration.²¹

Page touted his accomplishments in a letter to the *Yearbook of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, affirming growth from twelve churches to more than one hundred in eleven years. Page noted that in addition to the “[m]any thousand souls saved, church houses built, 268 acres of the school land bought and paid for,” and “school erected, Te[x]as produced good preachers and well trained men.”²²

Having held eleven State Convocations and raised \$38,825.19 for the organization, Page was pleased with COGIC progress in Texas, especially since he had dreaded moving to the region. He recalled that “[i]n the later part of 1913, the Lord, through Elder C. H. Mason ... called [him] to go to Texas. It hurt [him] so bad to think of going to Texas, but after humbling [himself] before the Lord for five hours in prayer, [the Lord] spoke to [his] soul and [Page] said: ‘Yes, Lord!’ Not one moment did [Page] resist any more.” In January 1914, “[Page] left Memphis for Texas. Arrived in Dallas on the 27th, met the Church that night and they received [him] gladly.”²³

Wholeheartedly embracing his administrative duties, Page established regular communication among affiliate churches through *The Texas Bulletin*. Published “in the interest of Christian religion and education,”²⁴ the magazine carried a yearly subscription fee of one dollar, which made the publication affordable to its readership. The publication also announced developments on campus and recapped lectures offered by Page’s assistant, Overseer J.H. Galloway of Houston, who “gave able instructions and conducted roundtable discussions.”²⁵

Training ministers in the art of preaching, Galloway posited that “[t]hirty and thirty-five minutes should be the time limit of ... sermon[s].” He outlined what has become a classic prescription for a successful African American Pentecostal sermon: “You should know when to close, and do not close out lower than where you began. Learn to close out in the height of your message. Then, too, learn to build your sermon. Do not start off too rapidly, but build up to your climax, then close.”²⁶ Galloway argued, “Let’s quit boring our people; if we do not, we will not have anybody to bore.” Galloway further warned, “Do not shout at your people before and during your sermon. Do not personate. Do not agitate. Fast before or on entering your revival meetings, but not during the time, you need the energy for service. I do not go to my pulpit fasting.”²⁷

When Galloway was not teaching at the school or preaching he served as president of the National Benevolent Burial Association, suggesting his commitment to organized community outreach. Because of Galloway’s legislative skill and longstanding relationship with the association and with the COGIC, members from “several states” were afforded the opportunity to join the association.

The *Texas Bulletin* also facilitated the establishment of COGIC churches. By 1926 the COGIC counted approximately 150 ministers in Texas, fifty local elders and licensed preachers, and at least four “women evangelistic helpers.”²⁸ More than fifty-five Texas cities and residential enclaves, mostly in East Texas, touted a COGIC connection, including the following: Abilene, Amarillo, Bastrop, Beaumont, Blooming Grove, Bonham, Brenham, Bryan, Cleburne, Como, Conroe, Crockett, Dallas (Oak Cliff), Denison, Electra, Ennis,

Fairbanks, Farmersville, Ferris, Fort Worth, Franklin, Galveston, Garland, Grayburg-Silsbee, Hillsboro, Houston (Goosecreek and 3rd Ward), Jasper (Honey Island), La Grange, Lincoln, Magnolia, Magnolia Springs, Marshall, Maypearl, Nacogdoches, Nolan, Orange, Palestine (West Side), Paris, Plum, Port Arthur, Prairie, Rosebud, Sulphur Springs, Tehuacana, Trinity, Wichita Falls, and Waxahachie.²⁹

In his discussion of COGIC influence in Nacogdoches, C.C. White depicted a phenomenon akin to a spiritual/territorial invasion. Early black Pentecostals were bold, aggressive, and persistent. Accordingly, they were often met with fear, wonder, and protest. In many cases, as in White's, they eventually achieved acquiescence.³⁰ White recalled that Baptist preachers "got all stirred" when they learned that Pentecostals were attempting to establish a church in town: "All kinds of tales got going around about it. They said these new people could put some kind of spell on folks. Their church was called Church of God in Christ, and the people that belonged to it was called 'sanctified people' or 'holiness people.'"³¹

Determined to maintain hegemony, White and others decided to "run" COGIC adherents "out of town" by challenging their theology, reasoning that if they could show the Pentecostals up members of the community would stop frequenting their services. The plan fell through when only one of the Baptist challengers went to the showdown.³² The Baptist minister who made an appearance warned his colleagues afterwards, "You fellows better be careful if you go down there. Them damned niggers got the Bible cold, on everything they say. They're going exactly by it." According to White, the COGIC "stayed" and the Baptists "stayed mad."³³

Once the COGIC church had settled in, its members began to proselytize. Although their invitations were often rejected, as White recalled, the "Church of God in Christ people didn't give up. They kept on asking, and some more of our members got to wanting me to let them come. I put them off as long as I could. Finally I got mad one day in church and I told my congregation, 'If nothing will do...but have them sanctified niggers out here, let them come.' So they come." White noted, "the first person to be saved by them was my own wife."³⁴

The COGIC appeal may have also stemmed from its adherence to an unprecedented prerequisite for ministry, one that baffled most mainline worshippers – "baptism" in the "Holy Spirit." White's spiritual journey away from the Baptist to the COGIC church, one that his wife's conversion facilitated, speaks to the effectiveness of early COGIC missionaries, many of whom were women. Cheryl Townsend Gilkes examined their involvement in "'Together and in Harness': Women's Traditions in the Sanctified Church," arguing that Bishop Mason's legal separation from his first wife may have opened the door for the steady, sustained influence of women within the COGIC organization. Divorced from a woman who was still living, Bishop Mason could not remarry. Gilkes noted that "[h]is position as an unmarried head of a church was almost unique in black church history, a marked departure from the traditional pattern of a preacher married to a professional woman leader (usually a

teacher). This historical 'accident' generated the model of a nearly autonomous women's organization."³⁵

The "nearly autonomous" status of the COGIC women's organization distinguished it from that of black Baptist women of the predominantly black National Baptist Convention. Evelyn Higginbotham contends that the Baptist women's movement largely developed "apart from" the male-dominated National Baptist Convention, where "[i]n the early 1880s and into the next decade, [women] struck out on a new and separate course by forging their own sphere of influence at the state level."³⁶

In the early period of the COGIC, the title "overseer," a literal translation of the Greek word usually translated as "bishop," was used for both men and women leaders. This practice "implied that the founders of the COGIC and other denominations initially envisioned a church organized in parallel structures of both male and female overseers." The resulting structure was "closer to the dual sex political systems characteristic of some West African societies than to the patriarchal Episcopal polities of European origin."³⁷

Of the positions held by women in the COGIC, that of the international, state, or local church mother/supervisor was the most revered. Her position approached that of a supportive "wife" in the domestic sphere.³⁸ According to this design, the church mother "is to the pastor in the local church what a wife is to her husband in the home." The term "mother" was particularly useful because it fused secular and spiritual domains in a manner that reflected an African concept of motherhood. The mother – supreme matriarch – invoked the power to lead, to organize, to produce, and to nurture. The pastor (son) certainly was expected to lead the church, but he held deep respect for his "mother" (wife), knowing that her support was essential to his success.

The evangelist held the second highest position listed under the category of "women's work." Hardly a free agent, she operated with the endorsement of her pastor and jurisdictional supervisor. In addition, she had to be "available to travel and conduct revivals whenever and wherever called upon."³⁹

Mother Lizzie Woods Roberson, first International Supervisor of Women, 1911-1945, and Mother Lillian Brooks Coffey, second International Supervisor of Women, 1945-1953, established precedents for COGIC women throughout the organization. But Hannah Chandler, Evangelist Nancy Gamble, Mother Mattie McGlothen, and Mother Emma Crouch set the pace for COGIC women in Texas.

The first "Mother of Texas," Hannah Chandler was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church before joining the COGIC. Her pastor taught the doctrine of sanctification in accordance with Methodist tradition, and Chandler received her first religious experience through his teachings. Chandler was introduced to the "baptism of the Holy Ghost" by Emma James of Memphis, Tennessee, during an evangelistic mission in Dallas in 1910, a message Chandler "had never heard ... before."⁴⁰ After "expounding in such a simple way" and explaining that sanctification was a prerequisite for the "bap-

tism of the Holy Ghost," James began "begging God" to grace Chandler with this new spiritual experience. When Chandler returned to the M.E. Church "baptized with the Holy Ghost," however, she was excommunicated from her church. She then joined James on an evangelistic mission to Tyler, where the "Lord gave...a great field of labor" and "many souls were saved and added to the Church."⁴¹ In 1911 Chandler attended her first state Convocation in Little Rock, Arkansas, and her first national Convocation in Memphis, Tennessee. After two years of service in various capacities, from evangelist to church janitor, Chandler was named Mother of the Women's Work of the State of Texas.⁴²

Both surprised and honored by her appointment, Chandler became "almost unnerved" when she read the letter. She began "praying to the Lord to give [her] wisdom" to assume her new position. Once she accepted the office, she "went into it with all [her] heart." By 1914, there were only "seven or eight churches in the state," but by 1926, there were "about 150." Chandler noted, "I have worked these eleven years with Elder Page and we have not had any trouble at all. We are very glad to say that women's work is well organized in Texas."⁴³ Chandler served in the COGIC until her death in 1944.

East Texas also figures strongly in the life of District Missionary Nancy Gamble (c. 1873-1950). Born in Thorton, Calhoun County, Arkansas, after emancipation, Gamble experienced "sanctification" in Tyler, Texas, through the ministry of Pastor James T. Blakely, and engaged in mission efforts with several spirited COGIC church mothers as dedicated as she to the COGIC mission. "Distinctive in her appearance," wearing a "black bonnet trimmed in white ... [and] tied" snug "under [her] chin," Gamble sang and played the guitar as she "work[ed] out" (established) COGIC churches in Texas.⁴⁴ After completing her job in Texas, Gamble extended her efforts to New Brunswick, New Jersey, where her brother and sister-in-law resided. In 1925, Gamble founded Faith Temple COGIC in East Chicago and proceeded with evangelistic work in Marion and Kokomo, Indiana. In 1942, at age fifty-nine, Gamble founded an enduring mission in Chicago at 1001 N. Kennedy (now Atterson Way) in an edifice once used as a fish market: the Christian symbolism evoked was certain to have been useful. As a result of Gamble's involvement in COGIC, Mother Lizzie Roberson appointed her first state supervisor of Illinois.

Native East Texan Mattie McGlothen also made extensive contributions to the COGIC organization. Her story highlights the Texas/California migratory trek of many black Texans.⁴⁵ The eleventh of fifteen children, McGlothen was born to Mr. and Mrs. Evans T. Carter in Tehuacana, Texas, a small town near Dallas, but was raised in the vicinity of Tehuacana and Mexia. At age six, she moved to Sapulpa, Oklahoma, and "thought she must have been in Heaven, for it was the first time she had ever been to town or seen the bright city lights."⁴⁶

McGlothen attended public school in Sapulpa from age six to fifteen. A bout with tuberculosis kept her out of school for eighteen months. In order to catch up with her studies, she was sent to Kansas City, Kansas, where she attended Quindara College and was graduated valedictorian in 1921. Among

her classmates was the legendary Lena Horne. Sharing the same balcony, McGlothen and Horne sang together in the college choir throughout their tenure there. As Horne traveled throughout the country, she kept in contact with McGlothen, who taught grades one through nine in Depew, Oklahoma, for four years.

Mattie returned home in May 1921 and learned that her mother had been "saved." In July, while returning home from the "picture show" with Emma Washington, an acquaintance, the two chatted about a revival conducted by Pentecostal Evangelist Missionary Lula Powell. Having heard that attendants were "being healed," inquisitive Mattie decided to verify the claims. Without planning to do so, McGlothen "received the baptism of the Holy Ghost and was healed that very night."⁴⁷ McGlothen affirmed, "I could hear Mother Power say, 'Come on God, come on God, do your work, do your work,' and the Holy Ghost came in."⁴⁸

After Mattie's conversion and baptism, she joined Elder Griffin's church, the host congregation for Powell's revival, and decided to become a missionary. The following year, Mattie (Carter) began to "court" George McGlothen, whom she met in September 1922. Dating was different then, as McGlothen's biographer affirmed: "The young folk would meet at church, walk to the top of the hill and turn around and come back."⁴⁹ Strolls notwithstanding, Mattie Carter was not sure she wanted to marry George because he was "the biggest gambler in Oklahoma," and "had just gotten out of jail and [come] straight to church." Mattie's sister thought he was "drunk" rather than sincere despite his ardent professions "I'm converted, I'm converted." Mattie recalled, "I hated him and he hated me. He didn't speak to me and I didn't speak to him." Within a few days of their initial encounter, George began to "talk to" Mattie, an early phase of their courtship that "went on for about two months until he got serious."⁵⁰

Perhaps knowing the political power of the preacher in those days, George informed Elder C. Range of his affections for Mattie, confiding to Range that he wanted to marry "that girl." Believing that George's salvation alone made him a worthy candidate for marriage, Range said to young Mattie, "This boy is saved – all his sins are behind him. You marry this boy." The case was settled, for "during those days you obeyed the preacher."⁵¹

Times were hard for the young couple, as they generally were for young Pentecostal couples starting out in full-time ministry. Their first mission trip was to Hugo, Oklahoma; however, a previous journey to Idabelle had exhausted their resources. Mattie recalled, "I had two dresses to my name; one was a black pinned-stripe, the other a red pinned stripe. I wore those big old black ribbed stockings and when they wore out, I wore Dad's socks because my dresses were down to my ankles."⁵²

Once the McGlothens "didn't have anything to eat," Mattie nonetheless "went to church," "shouted," and "never told [the church] what was happening." When she returned home after the service, "[s]omehow or another while rambling around, [she] found a sweet potato," prepared it, and said to her husband, "Come on Dad, I've got dinner fixed." She recalled, "I didn't let him

pray and I didn't pray either. I remember starting off crying. I pushed that sweet potato to him – he pushed it back to me and we pushed it back and forth to one another.”⁵³

Distraught by their lack of sustenance, George “got up from the table and went into the bedroom,” where Mattie joined him a few minutes later. While he was down on his knees crying, Mattie kneeled beside him saying, “Don't cry, Dad, the Lord is going to make a way.” Temporary relief came from the pastor's wife whom “the Lord touched” and “told” to give George McGlothen a \$5 dollar bill. As deeply trying experiences often lodge themselves in the recesses of the mind, McGlothen affirmed: “I can't forget that one sweet potato. I'll go to Heaven with that sweet potato image. One sweet potato was all we had, and no butter to go with it.”⁵⁴

Given Mattie and George McGlothen's dedication to each other and to the ministry, their financial situation changed over time as they gradually ascended the COGIC ranks. Bishop Crouch invited the couple to pastor Fresno Temple COGIC, in Fresno, California. Crouch sent them to survey the church and tell him their decision, agreeing to help them relocate to California if they accepted his offer. Both “fell in love with the church and moved.”⁵⁵

While en route to Fresno, the McGlothens also pastored in Los Angeles, California, for a short while. Not long after their Fresno experience, Crouch offered them a church in Richmond, California. The McGlothens never forgot the day of their arrival in Richmond. It was “pouring down rain,” perhaps a harbinger of what became “a long and fruitful ministry.”⁵⁶ During World War II, the congregation outgrew its small edifice and constructed McGlothen Temple COGIC. Continuing to work out churches, in 1945 now Bishop George and Mother Mattie McGlothen organized a church in Pittsburg, California, also named in their honor. The church was the first structure located at 4th and Montezuma Streets.

Because of her husband's pioneering work, in 1933 Mattie McGlothen was appointed State Supervisor of California and installed in April 1934. She was assigned to the northern area and Mother L. O. Hale supervised the southern region, a part of Bishop S. Crouch's jurisdiction. On December 13, 1939, McGlothen was re-appointed State Supervisor of Northern California, over which Bishop E.B. Stewart presided. In January 1958, after a new jurisdiction was officially organized to ensure the smooth governance of affiliate churches, Mattie McGlothen was appointed Supervisor of California Northwest and distinguished herself by serving five jurisdictional prelates for a total of thirty-six years; Bishops E. E. Hamilton, S.R. Martin, Milton Mathis, Clarence Davis, and W.W. Hamilton. Having become an astute organizer and leader, Mother McGlothen supervised the women of 136 churches and missions in the California Northwest Jurisdiction.⁵⁷

Because of her ability and proven dedication to the COGIC organization, McGlothen was eventually promoted to International Mother of the COGIC in 1976.⁵⁸ Bishop Patterson confirmed her appointment in a May 1976 letter highlighting McGlothen's “illustrious personality,” “loyalty,” “wisdom,” and

"respect for leadership," all of which "adequately qualified her to assume the challenging responsibility to ably lead the Women's Department."⁵⁹ With Bishop Patterson's approval, McGlothen proceeded with the same verve that had become her trademark. Under her leadership the International Women's department constructed a home for missionaries in the Bahama Islands in 1983 and a pavilion in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, for senior citizens and unwed mothers.⁶⁰

While Mattie McGlothen planted most of her COGIC efforts in California, Mother Emma Frances Crouch served extensively in her native Texas. A relative of the aforementioned Bishop S. Crouch and aunt of acclaimed gospel music artists Andrae and Sandra Crouch,⁶¹ Emma Frances Crouch was born February 19, 1911, in Morris County, Texas, on a homestead to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Searcy. After hearing of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, she was "sanctified and filled" in 1930. In 1938, she married Elder B. J. Crouch and lived with him until his death in 1960.

Mother Crouch's resumé resembled that of many Pentecostal women extensively involved in church work. She served as First Chairlady of the Young People Willing Workers (YPWW) in Texas, 1956; as District Missionary for 12 years; Chairperson of the District Missionary Board; and Second State President of the Sunshine Band. Crouch also acted as an aide and traveling companion to the Second State Supervisor Bertha Polk. She also served as president of the National Usher's Board, 1960. She served also on the Board of Directors for Saints Center. She then acted as First Assistant General Supervisor to Mother Mattie McGlothen, 1976-1994. Her highest position was that of the Fifth General Supervisor of COGIC, 1994-1997.

Crouch made contributions to the COGIC in a number of other areas as well. She reorganized the Board of Supervisors, dividing the faction into Circles "One" and "Two," and appointed area supervisors to serve as National Supervisors' Representatives. She also re-established the office of National Pastor's Aide; created the General Board of Bishops' Wives Circle; created the National Deaconess Circle; appointed a historian for the Department of Women; re-established the office of Executive Secretary for the Department; served as the Fourth President of the Women's International Convention; and organized the Historical Book Committee to chronicle the history of the Women's International Convention.⁶²

Like many COGIC women before her, Crouch dedicated her entire life to church work. The legacies that she and her predecessors left suggest that COGIC men and women of East Texas found church work to be fulfilling and self-affirming. Their examples served as models for black Pentecostals throughout the state and nation. COGIC bishops, church mothers, and missionary evangelists heeded New Testament mandates to "go out in the highways and byways" and to "go into the vineyard and work." Constructing churches, educating their children, and making creative use of meager resources, their lifelong contributions to the "Grand Old Church" waxed brilliant in the East.

NOTES

¹Zora Neale Hurston, *The Sanctified Church* (Tustin, CA: 1989). pp. 103-105.

²Vinson Synan, *The Holiness Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1971); Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee, et al., eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1988); James Tinney, "A Theoretical and Historical Comparison of Black Political and Religious Movements," (Ph.D. dissertation, Howard University, 1978).

³E. Frankin Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (New York, 1974, 1963); Melvin D. Williams, *Community in the Black Pentecostal Church* (Pittsburg, 1974).

⁴C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham and London, 1990); Hans A. Baer and Merrill Singer, *African-American Religion in the Twentieth Century: Varieties of Protest and Accommodation* (Knoxville, 1992).

⁵Peter Goldsmith, *When I Rise Cryin' Holy* (New York, 1989).

⁶Paul Oliver, *Songsters and Saints: Vocal Traditions on Race Records* (Cambridge, 1984); Tilford Brooks, *America's Black Musical Heritage* (Englewood Cliffs, 1984); Arthur C. Jones, *Wade in the Water: The Wisdom of Spirituals* (Grand Rapids, 1993); John Michael Spencer, *Black Hymnody: A Hymnological History of the African-American Church* (Knoxville, 1992); Kip Lornel, *'Happy in the Service of the Lord'* (Knoxville, 1996); Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans* (New York, 1997); and Glen Hinson, *Fire in My Bones: Transcendance and the Holy Spirit in African American Gospel* (Philadelphia, 2000).

⁷Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York, 1987); Walter Pitts, *Old Ship of Zion: The Afro-Baptist Ritual in the African Diaspora* (New York, 1993); Joseph Murphy, *Work in the Spirit* (Boston, 1994); and Peter J. Paris, *The Spirituality of African Peoples: The Search for a Common Moral Discourse* (Minneapolis, 1995).

⁸Ada Moorhead Holland and Reverend C.C. White, *No Quittin' Sense* (Austin, 1969).

⁹Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of Negroes in Texas: 1528-1971* (Austin, 1988).

¹⁰Barr, *Black Texans*, p. 77.

¹¹Cheryl Sanders, *Saints in Exile* (New York, 1996). African American Pentecostals based their belief in separation from the world on several New Testament scriptures, e.g., I John 2:15: "Love not the world neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him"; and Romans 12:2: "And be not conformed to this world: but be transformed by the renewing of your mind."

¹²I.C. Clemmons, "Mason, Charles Harrison (1866-1961)," in Burgess and McGee, et al, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, p. 585.

¹³Barr, *Black Texans*, p. 166.

¹⁴Barr, *Black Texans*, p. 166.

¹⁵Page was sent to replace D.J. Young, a minister who had begun missions work in Dallas in 1907.

¹⁶Compiled by Lillian Brooks Coffey, *Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*.

¹⁷Barr, *Black Texans*, p. 163.

¹⁸Glenda Williams Goodson, *I Commend Unto You Phebe: Female Leader-Activists in the Missionary Societies and Ministries of the African American Church 1900-1925* Revised edition. (Lancaster, 2001).

¹⁹Norman Lowell McCarver, Sr., and Norman Lowell McCarver, Jr., *Hearne on the Brazos* (San Antonio, 1958), p. 104. Reprinted at <http://www.rootsweb.com/~txrober2/HOTBORGANIZATIONS.htm>, p. 2.

²⁰Williams Goodson, email to Karen Kossie-Chernyshev, Tuesday, March 26, 2002.

²¹McCarver, *Hearne on the Brazos*, p. 104.

²²Williams Goodson, email to Kossie-Chernyshev, Tuesday, March 26, 2002.

²³*Yearbook of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 67.

²⁴*Yearbook of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 67.

²⁵*The Texas Bulletin: A Monthly Magazine of the Church of God in Christ, Texas Jurisdiction*, (Austin, July 1938).

²⁶*Texas Bulletin*, p. 3.

²⁷*Texas Bulletin*, p. 3.

²⁸*Texas Bulletin*, p. 3.

²⁹*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, pp. 137-138.

³⁰*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, pp. 137-138.

³¹Holland and White, *No Quittin' Sense*, p. 120.

³²Holland and White, *No Quittin' Sense*, p. 120.

³³Holland and White, *No Quittin' Sense*, p. 120.

³⁴Holland and White, *No Quittin' Sense*, p. 120.

³⁵Holland and White, *No Quittin' Sense*, p. 121.

³⁶Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, "'Together and in Harness': Women's Traditions in the Sanctified Church," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, (Summer, 1985), p. 692.

³⁷Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church 1880-1920* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993).

³⁸Gilkes, "'Together and in Harness,'" p. 692.

³⁹Mattie McGlothen, *Women's Handbook of Organization and Procedure*, revised edition. (Memphis, Tennessee, 1989, reprinted January 1994), pp. 20-21.

⁴⁰McGlothen, *Women's Handbook of Organization and Procedure*, p. 19.

⁴¹*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 75.

⁴²*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 75.

⁴³*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 75.

⁴⁴*Year Book of the Church of God in Christ for the Year 1926*, p. 75.

⁴⁵Sherry Sherrod DuPree, *Biographical Dictionary of African American Holiness Pentecostals: 1880-1900* (Washington, D.C., 1989), p. 99.

⁴⁶Sherry Sherrod DuPree and Herbert C. DuPree, "Explosive Growth of the African American Pentecostal Church," in Kenneth B. Bedell, ed., *Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches* (Nashville, 1993). DuPree and DuPree provide maps comparing the migration of members of the Church of God in Christ in particular to that of African Americans in general.

⁴⁷Emma J. Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen: A Virtuous Woman* (Richmond, 1995), p. 3.

⁴⁸Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 3.

⁴⁹Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 3.

⁵⁰Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 5.

⁵¹Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 29.

⁵²Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 29.

⁵³Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 30.

⁵⁴Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 31.

⁵⁵Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 31.

⁵⁶Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 9.

⁵⁷Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 9.

⁵⁸Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 11.

⁵⁹Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 13.

⁶⁰Clark, *Dr. Mattie McGlothen*, p. 13.

⁶¹*Memphis Corporate Salute*, 1996, p. 26.

⁶²*Whole Truth Magazine*, February-March 1997, pp. 10-11.

⁶³*Whole Truth Magazine*, February-March 1997, pp. 10-11.